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ABSTRACT

The reciprocal relationship of college founding and social factors in the external environment was studied in connection with the first public junior college in three states. The three cases were: Saginaw Junior College (reportedly established in 1895 in Michigan); McCook Junior College (1926, Nebraska); and Springfield Junior College (1917, Massachusetts). Attention was directed to: how the colleges originated and their antecedents; factors leading to the establishment of the college; and the conditions, factors, or persons influencing each school's development. In comparing three local institutional histories, information was obtained from newspapers and college publications, histories of higher education in each state, histories of local and state history, and pertinent journal articles and dissertation. For each of the three colleges, the economy, the civic and business support for public education, and the political environment and its relations with the schools all influenced the nature of college founding. College founding in these cases was related to other aspects of educational reform. It was affected by, and sometimes dependent upon, the success of political, economic, and social reforms. (SW)

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SOCIAL PHENOMENA LEADING TO COLLEGE FOUNDING IN THREE STATES:

THE FIRST PUBLIC TWO-YEAR COLLEGES

a paper presented at the Annual Conference,

Association for the Study of Higher Education

San Antonio, Texas, February 20-23, 1986

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Social Phenomena Leading to College Founding in Three States:

The First Public Two-year Colleges

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Background and Perspective

Education is basically reformist in orientation. Educators' interest in how people and institutions change is based on their desire to improve the content, processes and organization of education. The evolution of community and junior colleges is a case in point. These institutions evolved as part of an effort to improve upon the structure and efficiency of higher education (Goodwin, 1971; Ratcliff, 1986a, 1986b). Along with the advent of the state university, the two-year college represents an American innovation in the reform of the structure of higher education.

The rise of the public two-year colleges was concurrent with other great educational reforms and innovations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century: the junior high school, the mental measurement movement, the progressive education movement, compulsory secondary education and the application of scientific management to educational administration. These changes were, in turn, part of a great surge in social reform spanning from the 1890's into the first world war. This impetus for social reform set the tone of politics within the majority of American social institutions during the twentieth century (Hofstader, 1955). Historians have come to regard social reform in three major periods. First, there were the agrarian uprisings against the industrialization of the nation, best exemplified by the Populist politics and the 1896 Bryan presidential campaign. The second reform era was that of the Progressives, extending from 1900 to 1914. The third was the New Deal era of the 1930's. Each of these periods possessed unique characteristics which influenced both high culture and the commoners, and which extended beyond the

specific agendas of Populist, Progressive, Republican or Democratic parties. (Goldman, 1956; Hofstader, 1955).

Between the Progressive and New Deal periods were sandwiched the 1920's. This decade has frequently been viewed by historians as an unfortunate interruption in the beneficent adaptation of reform in our social institutions. The crash of the stock market in 1929 only seemed to confirm that the political conservatism of the decade had led to failure in our economic and social institutions; at least that was the view of many post-New Deal historians. More recent interpretations identify the 1920's as a time when "common values and common beliefs were replaced by separate and conflicting loyalties" (May, 1956, p. 425). Similar to our own day, the twenties were a time of interest group advocacy and the ascendancy of the middle class over immigrant, labor and ethnic minorities. It is also one of the great periods of growth in numbers of public junior colleges.

The public junior college emerged from the Populist era more as an idea than as a reality. According to Koos (1924, p.2), in 1900 there were no public junior colleges. By the end of the Progressive Era (in 1919), there were 6 public two-year colleges. According to Campbell (1930, p. 223) by the end of the 1920's, that number had grown to 258! By examination of these statistics alone, one might conclude that the junior college was a product of a conservative, rather than reformist political tradition. Further examination of the development of these colleges is needed, however, to ferret out the social, economic and political conditions which favored or hindered their development. To begin such an examination, we must consider those circumstances held in common by these first public junior colleges.

The first locally-supported, public two-year college in each state faced

certain obstacles to establishment and organization which were unique. First, the support of various interest groups within the community had to be developed and marshalled. Second, the support necessary for the passage of state legislation to enable the establishment of two-year colleges had to be garnered. Third, relations needed to be established with neighboring four-year institutions to enable students to transfer credits earned at the new college.

The thesis of this paper is that the first locally-supported, public two-year colleges overcame these obstacles without the benefit of legal, financial or institutional precedent within their state. Private colleges did not face comparable legal and financial hurdles. Four-year institutions did not face comparable articulation issues in their founding. Junior colleges that were formed as branch campuses of universities, that were revised from normal schools or that were part of a state system of higher education, did not encounter comparable demands for local citizen support and effort. For these reasons, the founding of the first locally-supported, public junior college provide a unique opportunity to examine the nature of local and state support for the establishment and development of higher education.

Reported here are preliminary findings of a larger investigation of the relationship and influence of external and internal forces on the founding of selected colleges. Those studied were the first public junior college in states where locally controlled institutions were initiated. The present investigation is limited to the years immediately preceeding the college founding and the initial years of operation. These colleges were identified through the combined listings of Eells (1931), Koos (1925) and Campbell (1930). The research objective was derived from current literature on strategic planning and management in higher education (Morrison, Renfro & Boucher, 1984) which suggests

a decisive influence of external forces and events on the direction, operation and reform of higher education.

Causes and Influences of Educational Reform

How do such reforms in higher education occur? It may be tempting to attribute educational reform to educational (rather than political, economic or social) factors. Such attribution gives credence to the importance and prominence of the profession and the field of study. Likewise, it may be reassuring to educators to discover educational leaders were at the forefront of change within higher education. Thus, when it is reported that the faculty gained widespread control and influence over the curriculum and the colleges in the 1960's, an "academic revolution" is proclaimed (Jencks and Riesman, 1968); when little impact is sensed from college administrators in the 1970's and 1980's, lack of effective leadership is lamented (Keller, 1983). Given the reformist orientation of education, it should not be surprising that educational change is often attributed to educational movements and their leaders.

In a review of community and junior college literature, Reid (1978, p. 143) noted:

> ...two interesting positions which seem to be major assumptions in virtually all the reporting of this movement: (1) that the movement is best explained by the great man theory, and (2) that the community junior college grew in response to cultural changes.

The contemporary relevance of Reid's observation is illustrated in Deegan and Tillery's recent book, Renewing the American Community College (1985, p. 4):

> Propensity for change in the community college resulted primarily from: (1) a lack of certain academic traditions during its formation years; (2) the diversity of local communities that nurtured the colleges; and (3) the effectiveness of local, state, and national advocates in shaping a new institution.

The books most highly regarded by community college presidents and professors of community college education describe the development of colleges ideologically rather than historically. In a previous review of literature, this author (Ratcliff, 1984) found that all but two of these books were written during a span of 14 years (1960-1974). They were not actually histories of the community college movement, but did contain brief chronological descriptions with numerous historical inferences and interpretations. The other two books (Eells, 1931; Koos, 1924) also were not historical works, but were treated as such by the authors of the more current works (i.e., Vaughan, 1982, pp. 16-17).

Koos' and Eells' interpretation of the community college movement was shaped by the sources of their information: college catalogs, questionnaires, and articles appearing in the prominent literary and educational journals of the day (Koos, 1925, pp. 16-17). These two researchers turned to the words of the prominent contemporary higher educational leaders -- William Rainey Harper, David Starr Jordan, William Watts Folwell -- to discern the purpose and direction of junior college development. Their early historical interpretations portrayed the community college movement as a popular, democratic educational reform lead by and advocated by elitist university presidents who did not want the burden of educating the lower division of the baccalaureate program. However contradictory that interpretation may seem, it rests upon a single explanation of historical causation -- the "great man" theory.

Typified by the Hellenic and Victorian historians, the "great man" theory holds that great leaders are primary and direct causes of historical events. Such a view tends:

> ...to give insufficient weight to the role of society (institutions) and culture (values) play in forming the ideas of leaders, in structuring the problems they faced, and in molding the solutions they might attempt and achieve (Shafer, 1974, p. 45).

Therefore, research on college establishment and founding has attributed the development of early junior colleges to great men, such as William Rainey Harper at the University of Chicago, Alexis Lange at the University of California, and Henry Tappan at the University of Michigan (Goodwin 1971, Gleazer 1968). Such research failed to yield information on the complex of social, political and economic relationships that may have existed between college and community.

Research Questions

The purpose of this preliminary research was twofold: a) to determine the social phenomena associated with the founding of first publicly supported two-year colleges in three states, and b) to compare and contrast the development of these colleges in light of the social phenomena accompanying their founding. Certain basic questions directed the historical investigation:

1) How did the colleges originate and what were their antecedents?

2) What factors lead to the establishment of the college?

3) Which conditions, factors, or persons influenced its development?

Methodology

This study was a comparison of three local, institutional histories. The investigation generated three microcosmic case histories within the macrocosm of concurrent state and national events in order to analyze, compare, contrast and explain (Gottschalk, 1950; Shafer, 1974). The approach used was not intended to isolate as has been the case in those investigations which have sought the "first" junior college (Eells, 1931; Hardin, 1976; Wagoner, 1985); rather, the

intent was to interrelate historical phenomena using perspectives drawn from related social sciences. The procedures followed these steps:

1) the selection and delimitation of the study of each case;
2) the accumulation, classification and analysis of source materials;
3) the ascertain of facts based corroborative evidence;
4) the formulation of tentative interpretations of facts;
5) the synthesis of the interpretation of the cases in a logical, organized form; and
6) the comparison of facts of the case with those of the other cases.

Sources of Data

The following sources were utilized in this exploratory investigation:

A. Primary sources:
   a. newspapers
   b. college publications

B. Secondary sources:
   a. histories of the higher education in each state.
   b. histories of local and state history.
   c. pertinent journal articles and dissertation research.

The three cases chosen were Saginaw Junior College (reportedly est. 1895 in Michigan), McCook Junior College (est. 1926 in Nebraska), and Springfield Junior College (est. in 1917 in Massachusetts). These colleges were founded in three distinct time periods; their respective dates of establishment were separated by roughly ten years. The chronological separation of cases afforded analysis of those factors the three colleges had in common and those factors were unique to each case.

In the course of this investigation, its was revealed that one of the colleges selected for examination never really came into existence. At least, it never came into existence within a two-year period of when it was reported to start! Andrews (1932), Brooks (1917), Brush (1916), Dunbar (1963), Eells (1931, p. 53), Hines (1917) reported that there was an upward extension of the East Side High School in Saginaw, Michigan, to incorporate college-level work; directly or indirectly these authors seemingly based their information about Saginaw on Gray's 1915 study of the junior college in California. The claim of Saginaw as Michigan's first public junior college experiment was contradicted (but neither disputed nor disproved) by Rieske (1964). Curiously, these claims were contradicted by an extensive review of the local Saginaw paper from October 1, 1894 to July 31, 1896 and by the report of the school superintendent, A.S. Whitney; that report showed no student enrollees beyond grade 12 at the high school from 1891 to 1896 (Whitney, 1896a, p. 6).

A Junior College in Saginaw?

Michigan is often regarded as a pioneer state in the development of two-year colleges. Texts often mention Henry Tappan's advocacy of the reorganization of higher education along the German model, so that students were admitted to the university at the fourteenth grade (Cohen and Brawer, 1982; Eells, 1931; Koos, 1925; Medsker, 1960; Thornton, 1972; Wagoner, 1985; Vaughan, 1982). In 1882 the University of Michigan adopted a plan of instruction, called "the University system", which differentiated the general education function for the first two year of college from the more specialized study of the junior and senior years (Hinsdale, 1906, p. 82). As previously discussed, a number of writers claimed that the first public junior college to be organized in Michigan

was at Saginaw in 1895. These three events -- Tappan's presidency, the curricular distinction between upper and lower divisions, and the upward extension of the curriculum of Saginaw's East Side High School -- were not related.

Tappan was an unpopular president during his 11 year tenure at Michigan from 1852 to 1863. He was dismissed from office 20 years before Michigan adopted the University system and 32 years prior to the first alleged public junior college experiment. Secondly, while the University system effected the division of the Michigan curriculum into upper and lower divisions, the first junior colleges in Michigan were freshman colleges; they initially provided only the first year of college instruction. And the founding of these colleges, coming so many years after the 1882 University system, hardly could have precipitated by this change in the University curriculum. Furthermore, the primary purpose of the 1882 curricular reform was to allow the more able students at the University of Michigan the opportunity to engage in independent study and reading, rather than to encourage transfer students from five- and six-year high schools (Dunbar, 1963, p. 143). The heavy demands placed on faculty to direct the independent study and reading under the 1882 curricular reform contributed to its abondonment in 1901.

Eells (1931, p. 53) and Andrews (1932, p.514) claimed that in 1895 Saginaw's East Side High School began to offer freshman college work in Latin, Algebra, trigonometry, English, and history. No evidence was offered by either author to corroborate this claim. A review of the Saginaw Evening News coverage of school board meetings and minutes, and the high school graduation lists from October 1894 to March 31, 1896 failed to substantiate their claim. While the News covered such items as the purchase of storm windows for the schools,

teachers' salaries, and the addition of 9th grade courses in English history and French, no mention was made of the upward extension of the high school curriculum to include the first year of college. A report by School Superintendent, A.S. Whitney, indicated no student enrollments beyond grade 12 at East Side High School from 1890-1896. If Saginaw was Michigan's first junior college, it either became so with nearly complete anonymity or started at a much later date than has been reported.

Eells (1931, p.53) also claimed that by 1897, eight students with such work had graduated at the university in three years after entrance. By 1904, Saginaw was among 23 public and semipublic institutions operating on the six-year high school plan. Again, evidence of this was either lacking or was inaccurate. It was a common practice among universities of the time to grant incoming students advanced standing and credit for subjects upon which they could pass an examination. In fact, students from Saginaw schools did perform well at the University of Michigan; in 1894 there were 80 Saginaw graduates enrolled at Ann Arbor ("U. of M.", 1894). If the Eells' claim that students from Saginaw were granted advanced standing was correct, that fact alone still would not substantiate the founding of a formal junior college organization within Saginaw schools.

Was the social, political and economic climate conducive to founding a junior college in Saginaw in 1895? Throughout the period preceeding the U.S. presidential election of 1896, the controversy over bimetalism and "free silver" raged. The national economy was expanding rapidly, but the economic policy of the Cleveland administration was monetarist: the amount of money in circulation was determined by the amount of gold held by the federal government. While the national economy grew through rapid industrial expansion, the money supply was

held constant by the gold standard, producing the effect of holding constant or devaluing fixed assets, such as property values; under such circumstances the price for borrowing money or issuing bonds was high. The net effect of economic factors was inhibiting upon the growth of public education.

Saginaw, in 1895, was a growing industrial hub in east central Michigan. It was Michigan's third largest city, with approximately 50,000 in population; the 200 manufacturing firms of the city included those producing lumber and salt, planing mills, iron works, furniture, machine and boiler works . Coal fields had been discovered at Sebewaing, 12 miles south of Saginaw, opening the possibilities of further industrial development ("Saginaw!", 1895). During 1894 land values rose and new plants located in Saginaw. The Saginaw Board of Trade was active in attracting new industry to the area. Saginaw representatives to the state legislature introduced a bill for improved county and state trunk highways to promote commerce and transportation. However, the recession in 1895 caused some local businesses to close and put a pinch on the school budget. The Republican paper of Saginaw, the Courier-Herald, attacked the school budget as excessive; Superintendent Whitney responded by comparing the cost of instruction in Saginaw and Detroit, demonstrating an efficient as well as excellent school system (Whitney, 1896a). To economize, the schools moved from a 10 month to a 9 month calendar that year ("Nine months", 1896; Whitney, 1896b). Clearly, the local sentiment during the 1895-96 school year was not toward expansion of the school program.

Nevertheless, Saginaw businessmen clearly saw the Saginaw school system as a major asset of the city. At the annual banquet meeting of the Board of Trade, several speakers reflected on the financial crisis facing the nation and the region. Several toasts were offered to: "Our Manufacturing Interests", "Saginaw

Hospitals", "Rapid Transit", "Our Lumber Interests", and "Our Public Schools". In the latter toast it was noted that several of the Saginaw school buildings were named after prominent business leaders as a reflection of the support of the Board of Trade for the public schools ("Red Letter Event", 1895). Business leaders were clearly supportive of public works projects, including schools, transit, and hospitals, but they were also cognizant of the limitations on growth caused by the economic recession.

Saginaw was a politically influential city during this period. In 1894 Spenser O. Fisher, a Saginaw businessman, was chosen as democratic candidate for governor. In 1898, Col. A.T. Bliss of Saginaw was elected as Governor of Michigan. Saginaw's political outlook during the mid 1890's was reformist in nature. City aldermen debated and passed an ordinance requiring the electrical wires from all utilities to be suspended on one set of poles throughout the city. Ordinances were also passed regulating rates and safety of the streetcars between Saginaw and Bay City, as those companies shifted from horse-drawn to self-powered cars. Political leaders were apparently willing to have government intercede into the affairs of business for the public good.

The reform spirit was also evident in the schools. The West Side schools of Saginaw introduced the Kindergarten as an educational innovation in 1893. The public was receptive to early education and development of their children and the program proved successful. In 1895 a compulsory education bill was introduced in the state legislature. As a regional center and county seat, Saginaw was a popular site for teachers institutes. Advocates of developmental approaches to education -- President Hall of Clark University, Professor Hinsdale of Michigan and Principal Boone of the State Normal School -- were among those chosen as presenters for the institutes.

The educational leaders of Saginaw were professionally active and influential. Superintendent A.S. Whitney received his bachelors degree at the University of Michigan in 1885. In the summer of 1893 he attended the summer session at Cornell; the summer of 1894 he studied at Clark (Hinsdale, 1906). In 1895 he was asked to teach in the summer session at the University of Michigan. In 1896, Whitney took leave from Saginaw schools to study at the German universities in Jena and Leipzig. In 1899, Whitney left his post with the Saginaw schools to join the faculty in education at the University of Michigan. Ultimately, Whitney was to become Dean of the School of Education (Andrews, 1932). During his career, Whitney was to serve as president of the Michigan School Superintendent's Association and the Michigan Schoolmasters' club. A.C. Goddard, Principal of East Side High School, later accepted a professorship in the law school at the University of Michigan (Andrews, 1932). Educational leadership and university relations were not the sole domain of Superintendent Whitney. In fact, six faculty members of the Saginaw schools received appointments at the University of Michigan to teach in that institutions' 1896 summer session ("Ann Arbor Notes", 1896).

If the local educators developed an interest in junior colleges, that interest could have emanated from their involvement with the University of Chicago. Whitney and Goddard became involved with the University of Chicago through it's Extension Division as early as 1891. Both served as leaders on the Saginaw's University Extension Society. Beginning in 1891, the Society was responsible for making the necessary arrangements for university lecturers and publicizing their lecturer series. In 1894 the society membership numbered 214; Nathaniel Bulter, director of Chicago's University Extension, commented in 1895 that Saginaw's East Side center was among the University's largest in enrollment

("Eloquent Lecture", 1895). While the University Extension society arranged for lecturers from both the University of Michigan and the University of Chicago, Chicago was clearly the predominant extension association for Saginaw. Extension was evangelical in purpose (as described by its first dean, Edmund J. James):

> The whole movement ... is primarily a missionary work. Its aim is to make people desire the things it can offer, to make people long for improvement. (as quoted in Storr, 1966, p. 196).

Extension faculty were apart from the resident faculty at Chicago. They lived "like travelling salesmen, eating at lunch counters, sleeping on trains, and coming home, perhaps in a cold dawn, only to pack bags again".

While William Rainey Harper, Chicago's founding president, did not take part in much Extension work, his prior activities in Chautauqua convinced him of its worth. Its task was none less than the diffusion of scientific knowledge and to bring culture to the uncultured. The University of Chicago was not bridled in its extension work by state lines and boundaries, as was the case for the Land Grant state universities. Its sphere of influence would be defined by the expertise of its instructors and by the segment of the population to which the university chose to address.

The Extension Lecture study course consisted of six or twelve lectures, discussions with the instructor subsequent to the lecture, and weekly written exercises based upon a formal syllabus. In Saginaw, the discussions and exercises from the prior lecture preceeded the evening presentation and were optional to those who enrolled. Extension courses were held at the high school on Saginaw's East Side. Lectures sponsored by the University Extension Society were successful throughout the 1891-1986 period examined, evidencing strong public interest for this form of adult education. The Saginaw Evening News hailed the success of the non-credit enrollees and urged more credit

enrollments:

> It is a matter for congratulation that University Extension work has been steadily growing in favor in this city, courses already having been presented in German history, American history, English literature and social reform in fiction. The only thing now needed to make the work permanent and successful in Saginaw, and thus to keep us in touch with the intellectual life of our great universities, is that more study, work and investigation be done in connection with the lectures by attendants upon the course. For this work Saginaw is one of the best equipped cities in the state, the magnificent Hoyt library making it possible... ("Success Assured", 1895, p. 7).

The schools, university extension and the public library were partners in the educational development of the citizens of Saginaw. School superintendent Whitney also received strong public interest when he arranged special topic lectures, such as the presentations on child development by Clark University president, G. Stanley Hall in 1895 and 1896. The social climate of Saginaw was supportive of adult and postsecondary education.

There were other forms of such educational endeavors. In 1895, the YMCA initiated manual training courses in carpentry for adults. These classes were held at the high school in the evenings, too. The school district rented the facilities to the YMCA at the same rate as was used for the University of Chicago extension courses, $5.00 per night ("Manual Training", 1895). Saginaw businessmen, professionals and clergy evidenced an interest in supporting some local forms of higher education. A group of doctors formed a local medical college in 1896 ("Medical College", 1896). Also in 1895, the Michigan Synod of the German Lutheran Church proposed that a college be established in Saginaw under their auspices ("Will It Be a College", 1895). In that same year, the Presbyterians of Saginaw led the Michigan Synod of that denomination in a special fund raising effort to restore Alma College's ailing endowment. There was also a proprietary school in Saginaw, the International Business College (IBC). Operating since 1884, the IBC offered courses in shorthand, typing,

bookkeeping, commercial law, commercial writing and business management; college officials reported 100% placement of graduates ("International Business College", 1895).

Saginaw citizens were informed of William Rainey Harper's system of colleges and academies to be affiliated with the University of Chicago. An article in the Saginaw Evening News portrayed the plan as primarily denominational: "Baptist colleges and academies are preparing to come under the wing of the University of Chicago" ("Colleges in a Pool", 1895). The story did not discuss the prospect of upward extension of the high school to form such colleges, however.

In summary, the civic and economic leaders of Saginaw viewed the school system and other public services as assets to the continued growth of the community. Technological advances in motorized transportation, improvement of roads and waterways and the discovery of a nearby energy sources, coal, made the long term future of Saginaw seem bright, in spite of the recession gripping the economy in 1895-96. There was widespread support for education beyond high school in the community, through extension, the YMCA, support of denominational colleges, a professional school and proprietary education. There was strong and regular communication between Saginaw school officials and the University of Michigan and the University of Chicago -- two institutions of higher education where the lower division and upper division work had been organizational separate in the curriculum. Also, educational leaders of Saginaw were reformist in outlook; they had been active in introducing developmental educational psychology to the teachers and in seeking more efficient and productive means of organizing the course of study. Seemingly, the social, political and educational climate of Saginaw seemed conducive to the advent of a junior

college.

Yet, surprisingly, no evidence was found of the junior college alleged in the junior college literature. Clearly, the limitations placed on expansion of services were products of the monetary policies of Cleveland administration; those economic barriers would not recede until the end of the recession and the presidential election of 1896.

The First Public Junior College in Massachusetts

The first public junior college in Massachusetts was founded in 1917 in Springfield. The Springfield population had jumped from less than 89,000 in 1910 to over 100,000 inhabitants by the end of 1914. Manufacturing firms were locating in this western Massachusetts trade center; the Springfield Daily Republican reported that the capital investment in Springfield industries increased 59 percent from 1910 to 1915; during that same period, total salaries and wages paid by Springfield employers expanded by 36 percent ("Commerce Grows", 1916). A former resident of Springfield, who returned to visit in 1916 after being away for 15 years noted the extensive building and renovation of structures along Main Street, the numerous new parks, and the new residential sections guided in their development by the city planning commission. While the Springfield economy, like that of Saginaw, had languished during the 1892-96 recession, it had recovered handsomely during the Progressive era prosperity. ("A City Refaced, 1916). The growth in business and population translated in enrollment growth at the high schools ("At School", 1916).

A major political item for Springfield in 1916 and 1917 was the revision of the city charter. Since there was no home rule bill in the state at the time, the debate over the revision of the Springfield city charter was conducted

in the state legislature. Part of that debate involved the separation of the school board from the municipal government. The problem of having the school board report to the mayor's office was illustrated in 1916. In that year, the school board, afraid of losing good teachers due to low salaries, had recommended a pay increase. The city finance committee and the mayor's office opposed the pay increase. The protracted fight between the school board and the mayor extended into the spring of 1917, when the board was to consider the proposal to establish the junior college. The city charter bill in the legislature would give the schools the power to buy land, erect buildings and effect salary scales without consulting the city council ("Change in Referendum", 1916). But in 1917, the school board was not free to turn to the voters for a tax increase, and the city was not free to turn to the voters to revise its charter to give the school board great discretion in decision-making. A second political fight ensued fight among legislators over the form of revised charter: the city manager form of government versus the federal charter form. In 1917 the Union for a Progressive Constitution proposed amendments to state constitution that would incorporate the initiative and referendum process in the government commonwealth. In 1917 Springfield did not have access to the political reforms of direct democracy, the initiative and referendum, to raise teacher salaries, to raise taxes, or to build support for educational reforms.

In the year prior to the founding of Springfield Junior College (SJC), 1916, the Board of Education established four junior high schools; this innovation was intended to provide a logical exit point for those students who were more attracted to the jobs and wages of the local industry than to continuing their education; secondary education was still seen as elective rather than compulsory in Springfield. Then too, the three high schools --

Commercial, Technical and Central -- were crowded. The school board reasoned that, as three year (rather than four-year) high schools, the crowded conditions could be eased. There were more than practical reasons for the junior high school as well. The Board, the junior high principal and teachers espoused the developmental belief that children in these grades should be taught differently than those in either the elementary schools or the high schools. The high schools were part of an educational experiment and innovation initiated by a teacher in 1898-99, continued throughout the Progressive era, and was institutionalized in 1916. Springfield's State Junior High School even included a remedial program to assist those students who had failed one or two subjects in their high school entrance examination ("Springfield's Junior High School", 1916).

Springfield schools, administrators, students and teachers were recognized for educational excellence on a number of occasions. In 1916 President E.M. Hopkins of Dartmouth presented a trophy to Springfield's Central High School for high scholarship in secondary education and an award to the three Springfield high schools for excellence in the applied arts ("Schools Honored, 1916). Also that year, Harvard awarded Central High School a Phi Beta Kappa trophy because Central High students won the highest honors on the Harvard entrance examinations. In 1916, William C. Hill, principal of Central High School was elected as president of the New England Association of Teachers of English ("English Teachers Coming", 1916); the following year Mr. Hill was to become the first dean of Springfield Junior College. Superintendent Van Sickle was asked by Columbia Professor George Strayer to serve on visitation and survey teams to a number of other public school systems, including those of Boston, and Harrisburg (PA). Superintendent Van Sickle was also well acquainted with progressive

educational philosophy and with the mental measurement movement through his work with Prof. Strayer, E.L. Thorndike and E.P. Cubberly on the Committee on Standards and Tests for Measuring the Efficiency of Schools or Systems of Schools of the National Council of Education (Strayer, 1913). Springfield schools and educators were professionally active and involved in the educational reforms of the day.

During 1917 the school board received a number of requests for evening classes for adults. The local machinists' union requested classes in technical subjects ("Ask for Evening Classes", 1917). Salesmanship was added to the evening curriculum at the request of several Springfield employers. The curriculum, first initiated in 1897, offered subjects parallel to those of the day high schools, plus technical and commercial courses, a high school preparatory department, and classes for the foreign-born ("Evening High School Plans", 1916). The formation of junior highs relieved the overcrowding in the high schools and made it possible for the school system to respond to requests from community and labor groups for adult and evening classes. When the school board established the first public two-year college in the state the following year, it too was part of the development and progressive framework of education provided by the city. Located in Central High School building, Springfield Junior College would not have been possible, physically or philosophically, without the educational reform and articulation enacted between the junior high and high schools.

Springfield Junior College was an upward extension of Springfield Central High School. William C. Hill, principal of the Central High also served as dean of the college. Prior to formation of SJC, Central High had a small number of students who chose to remain for an additional year of post-high school college

work; this work was accepted at colleges and universities in the area through their admissions testing practices ("Central High Seniors", 1916).

Unlike the introduction of the four junior high schools, the junior college received little publicity or public promotion. Without fanfare, the board of education established a junior college department in Central High School in April 1917, with college-level work to begin the following September (" Junior College in Springfield", 1917). Principal Hill presented the idea to a meeting of graduating seniors in May 1917 ("Junior College Course", 1917). Prior to the beginning of the new school year, the Daily Republican also provided citizens with a description of the purpose and success of California junior colleges ("California's Junior Colleges", 1917). During that spring, the school district had been engaged in a battle with the city council over raising taxes to support raises for teachers; during that debate, the cost efficiency of the school system was questioned by the opponents of tax increases. Perhaps the school officials did not want to call attention to the upward extension of the high school. Then too, the newspaper was increasingly taken with stories of World War I and the growing American involvement in it. While the junior high schools had been the subject of a number of articles in the Daily Republican in 1916, including a feature story in a Saturday edition, the junior college was only mentioned three times in the entirety of 1917, the year of its founding; and those stories were small, back page articles. The public junior college in Springfield was preceded by the Y.M.C.A. college (often referred to as "Springfield College" in the local papers). The Y.M.C.A. College had reportedly offered a two-year college transfer and technical curricula since 1885; that curricula was lengthened to three years in 1896, and in 1916, was again augmented to four years ("A Longer Course", 1916, p. 5). If the report that the

Springfield Y.M.C.A. College maintained a two-year curriculum in the decade from 1885 to 1896 is correct, then it would predate both Bradley Polytechnic Institute (est. 1897, Peoria, IL) and the Lewis Institute (est. 1896, Chicago, IL) as a junior college (Eells, 1931, p. 54). It would not, however, preempt the claims of Lasell Female Seminary (est. 1851) and Susquehanna University (est. 1858) as the first private junior college (Hardin, 1976). It is not our intention here to offer a new candidate for first private junior college; however, based on the experience of this investigation in attempting to substantiate Saginaw as the site of a junior college in 1895, it perhaps prudent to suggest further research into the curriculum of the Springfield Y.M.C.A. College.

Another predecessor of the public junior college in Springfield was the American International College (AIC), an institution founded by French Canadien missionaries in Lowell (MA) in 1894 as the French Protestant College. The College was moved to Springfield in 1898. The AIC was authorized by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to confer collegiate degrees and had offered a two-year, college level curriculum since 1894. In 1916, AIC reported 172 college students representing 20 different nationalities. It claimed to be the only institution of higher education with the specific mission of educating the foreign-born. The College consisted of three departments, the college, the academy and the introductory department. The college served those non-English speakers who already had some secondary education and were literate in their native tongue. The academy was a preparatory department "with the same certificate privileges at the great universities" as the Springfield high school students; the introductory department assisted those immigrants who were illiterate in both English and the native language ("Where They Still Believe",

1916, p. 1, 9.). The American International College provided yet another previously unrecorded, early example of a private two-year college worthy of further investigation. In this instance, the open admissions policy, commitment to progressive educational principles, service to a special population group, and provision for remedial / developmental education is notable.

Springfield Y.M.C.A. College and American International College were not the only postsecondary opportunities in the Springfield area. Within a short distance were Mt. Holyoke, Williams, Smith, Amherest and the Massachusetts Agricultural College (MAC). MAC organized extension classes in Springfield in 1916 and 1917. The enrollment of these colleges and other institutions of higher education throughout New England were devastated by the entrance of the United States into World War I ("War Cuts Enrollment", 1917).

If one employs the "great man theory" of early two-year colleges, one might suspect that the development of SJC to be a result of the encouragement of J. Stanley Hall, President of Clark University. Hall, like Gilman at John Hopkins, Harper at Chicago, and Tappan at Michigan, was impressed with the German research university and sought to separate upper division and graduate studies from the lower division, which he regarded as more akin to secondary education (Brubacher and Rudy, 1976). Clark University, where Hall was founding president, was devoted solely to graduate studies; Clark University was less than 60 miles from Springfield. Clark was the site of one of the earliest masters theses on the junior college (Brooks, 1917), evidencing some scholarly interest in the institution. However, it was Wesleyan University which formed the first articulation arrangement with SJC.

Just as the formation of junior high schools and their articulation with the senior high schools made the formation of SJC possible, the curricular

reform at Wesleyan University influenced the early SJC curriculum. In 1908 Wesleyan had abandoned its traditional Latin - scientific curriculum for a program of study allowing for more free electives (Dutcher, 1948). In that new curriculum, there was a clear differentiation between the freshman year and the later three years. In the pre-1908 curriculum (adopted by the faculty in 1892-93), the division had been between the first two years and the second two years of the baccalaureate program. In the new (1908) Wesleyan curriculum, only English was a required freshman course.

Thus, the new Springfield Junior College designed a one-year arts and science curriculum that would articulate well with Wesleyan's course of study. Under the circumstances, it was clear that the addition of English as a SJC course was advantageous, and limiting the Springfield curriculum to the first year of college facilitated the relationship with Wesleyan. The important point here is not that SJC was "forced" to copy the Wesleyan curriculum. Nothing of the sort occurred; indeed many fine Springfield graduates went to Boston, Harvard or Dartmouth. Rather, the important fact was that Wesleyan was rethinking its curriculum and was making a concerted, direct effort to increase its enrollments. The nature of the curricular reform - toward a freshman year of free electives - was permissive, allowing for articulation with SJC. Curriculum reform at the University had positive effects upon junior college curriculum development.

Courses of freshman grade were offered at SJC in English, Latin, French, German, history, science, and mathematics. The English, Latin, and history were new courses at Central High in 1917. Other courses - French, German, science and mathematics, had previously been taken for advanced credit to high school seniors. Colleges would grant Central High students credit for these subjects

after taking an examination and meeting the other college college entrance requirements. However, in the junior college curriculum, the content of these courses will be somewhat changed to better emulate the requirements of the freshman year in colleges.

Then Springfield high school Principal William C. Hill wrote (as quoted in Brooks, 1917, p. 38.) :

> The courses will be made up of thirteenth grade pupils; that is to say, pupils who have graduated from high school. The majority will doubtless have completed the regular college entrance requirement, but we shall not bar anyone from a course in Latin or French, for example, if he is well qualified for this course, simply because he has not done the work in mathematics and history required for college entrance. We shall not refuse admittance to these courses if we are positive that they are ready for them, but the pace will be set for college freshmen. We shall have some who do not intend to go away to college. We hope to be able to encourage some, who would not otherwise secure a college education, to make a start and perhaps to complete the four years course elsewhere later.

What can we see from this early quote? First, in initiating the junior college, Principal Hill advocated open access. Students were not barred from admission because they had not completed the prerequisite courses in mathematics and history. Nevertheless, there was a clear sense of academic standards; the courses were intended to be of collegiate grade.

The admissions policy anticipated the entrance of some students who otherwise would not seek a college education. For the decade prior to World War I, then were non-traditional learners. Recall that high schools themselves were fairly new phenomena; many were less than two decades old. And the early junior college movement was part of the reform and reorganization of high school and college education. Many students, particularly in New England, attended academies as preparation for college. There were few standards which distinguished secondary from collegiate education at the time. Therefore, the open admissions policy of Principal Hill may be viewed as a logical extension of

the university practice of waiving freshman requirements in certain cases and admitting students for advanced courses. While true open access became a hallmark of the comprehensive community college during the 1960's and 1970's, open admissions policies nevertheless may have had their start with early junior colleges, such as Springfield.

The new junior college in Springfield was built on a number partnerships. First, there were vocational programs. The junior college cooperated with the City Library in establishing a librarian's training program. Likewise, Springfield Junior College cooperated with the High School of Commerce to develop a postsecondary secretarial program. The only exception to the one year college curriculum at Springfield was a two year pre-medical course of study. From the outset then, Springfield Junior College offered vocational and pre-professional studies, and from the beginning many of these courses were developed through cooperative partnerships.

In summary, the economic and demographic environment of Springfield in 1917 was supportive of the development of the junior college. The city was growing in population, numbers of employers and numbers of workers. The educational leadership of the city was progressive and professionally active. The city had a history of educational reform and innovation. The creation of junior high schools, in particular, worked to the advantage of founding the junior college. Politically the city was embroiled in a debate over the revision of the municipal government charter. The actions and decisions of the school board were subject to the review of the city council, and that too had led to political battles. The revision of the form of city government was subject to the approval of the state legislature. The initiative and referendum were not part of state government and therefore were not available as a means for

building public support and approval of educational issues. Although Springfield did launch a successful first junior college, the extreme drain of students from college campuses during the war, the historical preference in New England for private higher education (Salwak, 1953), and the lack of a public campaign to promote the junior college inhibited its success and growth.

McCook and the Public Junior Colleges of Nebraska

The local school board of McCook, Nebraska, authorized the establishment of a junior college college in 1926 (Lindsay, 1931). This was to become the state's first public junior college. There was no law in 1926 which permitted McCook to establish a junior college; likewise, there was no articulation policy at the University of Nebraska permitting the transfer of students from a junior college. In the process of garnering support from other communities across Nebraska for passage of junior college enabling legislation, a junior college movement was spawned.

Several reasons were advanced for the founding of the college. The educational and civic leaders of McCook believed that the University of Nebraska located in Lincoln (southeastern Nebraska) was too distant, and that McCook students who wished to remain at or near home were discouraged from attending college ("One Student", 1925). One of their principal arguments for a junior college was that in 1925, less than 2 percent of graduating Nebraska high school seniors went on to higher education. This educational rationale was coupled with arguments of the civic and commercial benefits that a college would bring to McCook.

McCook visualized itself as a commercial centre for southwestern Nebraska. It was growing in population and there was a commensurate demand placed on school building capacities and for expansion ("Looking Ahead", 1925). A junior

college was seen as an asset, as was the addition of a museum, public library, country club and the completion rail and highway connections with Denver and Omaha. McCook competed with other towns in Kansas and Nebraska for the routing of the transcontinental highway (U.S. 6) and for a north-south national route (U.S. 83). Such public services as a college and a library and major transportation links would help differentiate McCook from other rural Nebraska communities and attract people from surrounding communities to shop or to relocate.

Other towns sought colleges as community assets. For example, Beatrice Chamber of Commerce staged a fund-raising and publicity drive to lure Doane College to move its campus in Crete (NE) to Beatice ("Beatice wants College", 1925). These actions on the part of other communities were followed carefully by the supporters of the junior college in McCook. But the strongest interest by these rival communities seemed to be in public, rather than private higher education. Proponents of the junior college idea were active in Norfolk (northeast Nebraska); like their counterparts in McCook, they sought data on the success of such institutions in other states and the processes by which these colleges received initial regional accreditation and recognition of their work by nearby universities. Reverend P.M. Orr headed the campaign for a junior college in Norfolk, arguing that citizens of that community spent $20,000 annually in other cities educating their children. Rev. Orr's campaign was followed closely by the McCook newspapers. In the winter of 1925-26, Fairbury, Norfolk, Scottsbluff and McCook competed to start the first junior college in the state ("Junior College is Boomed", 1925).

The editors of the McCook Daily Gazette, H.C. Strunk and Mark H. Knight, sparked the effort of promoting the proposed junior college in McCook; the paper ran a series of stories on the problems students face in going away from home to

college and the success of junior colleges in other communities; the paper profiled Port Huron Junior College (MI) and Burlington Junior College (IA), and included assurances from Burlington's superintendent that "McCook is ideally located for a junior college" ("Propose M'Cook", 1925). The Gazette series concluded with an article by A.C. Olney, California Commissioner of Secondary Schools. Olney described the rationale and the success of 19 California junior colleges; prior to becoming Commissioner, Olney had served as founding dean of the first two California junior colleges: Fresno in 1910 and Santa Barbara in 1911 ("California", 1925; Spindt, 1957).

In December 1925 Superintendent of McCook Public Schools, J. A. True, invited the Director A.A. Reed of Extension Division and Dean W.E. Sealock of the Teachers College at the University of Nebraska to confer with him on the establishment of a junior college. Sealock had supported the establishment of a junior college in McCook. Dean Sealock served as a resource person in a McCook town meeting to discuss the merits of junior colleges. The dean expressed his belief that a junior college was feasible in any town of 3,500 or more, citing Clarinda Junior College (IA) as example ("Town Meeting", 1925). Both Director Reed and Dean Sealock were favorable to the junior college idea, and later both were instrumental in gaining initial recognition for the McCook Junior College (MJC) curriculum from the University of Nebraska Board of Regents.

Editors Strunk and Knight and Superintendent True also sought the perspectives of the Colorado state Superintendent of Public Instruction and of the chief of the higher education division of the U.S. Bureau of Education, George F. Zook on the merits of establishing a junior college. Zook, a known supporter of junior colleges, restated his belief that "education belongs in the hands of public institutions"; while he cautioned that "it is wrong to establish a college in a small, isolated town", he voiced his support of local control:

"state-owned institutions are inferior to those owned by municipalities..." ("Bureau Chief", 1925).

McCook business were also in unanimity support of the establishment of a junior college. The Chamber of Commerce endorsed the project, and working in conjunction with the YMCA, offered the upper floors of new "Y" building as the temporary location for the college. Developers J.E. and Charles Kelly proposed to donate a parcel of land to the school district for the expressed purpose of construction of college buildings. The land was located in a growth area of town. ("Board of Education", 1925).

The information gathering, mass meetings and publicity about junior colleges paid off. In their December 9, 1925 meeting, the school board voted to start a junior college the following September. The Gazette reported widespread enthusiasm for the new college:

> According to members of the board, the project received more public support than any other project brought before the board in its history. Hundreds of people expressed themselves in favor of the project, and only two are know to have opposed it. The mothers clubs of the city voted solidly for the establishment, and the Chamber of Commerce also unanimously favored it. ("Board of Education", 1925).

The board of education initially planned to seek accreditation through the North Central Association. Subsequent to the board's decision to found MJC, Extension Director Reed assisted Superintendent True in developing a curricular plan that would articulate with that of the University of Nebraska; Dean W.E. Sealock of the University's Teachers College also conferred with Director Reed on the proposed MJC curriculum. In this plan MJC agreed to offer courses of comparable curriculum taught by adequately prepared instructors in exchange for recognition for its work by the Extension Division of the University. The initial curriculum included arts and science and pre-law curriculum for transfer as well as two-year normal school curriculum leading to a Nebraska life teaching

certificate ("Junior College Curriculum", 1925). Reed and Sealock presented the plan to the University's Board of Regents and recommended that the MJC course of study be formally recognized; the Board gave its approval to the MJC plan in May 1926, prior to the opening of the college. That recognition set the pattern for University recognition of the other junior colleges (University of Nebraska, 1925-1926, p. 389). Through 1926 and 1927, the University remained neutral to the junior college movement in Nebraska and in no way opposed it (American Education Digest, 1927).

The informational and promotion campaign for a junior college in Norfolk resulted in the 1928 establishment of a second Nebraska junior college. Before either community established a college, the boards of education conducted unofficial referenda to determine the sentiments of the townspeople. Since no state law permitted junior colleges at the time, it was especially important to have a clear mandate for the institution; if some taxpayers wished to bring action against the board to prevent the establishment of a college, they would have won and forestalled the founding. However, the referendum vote in each city showed a large majority of voters in favor of establishment of a junior college (Lindsay, 1931; Saylor, 1949). Nevertheless, the supporters of the junior college movement in McCook and Norfolk felt the need for immediate legislative action to legitimatize their actions.

These groups were joined by educational leaders in Scottsbluff. This community in the extreme western part of the state also took steps to formally organize a college, even though enabling legislation had not yet been enacted. Wayne W. Johnson, first dean of Scottsbluff Junior College described its origin (as quoted in Saylor, 1949, pp. 116-117):

> Scottsbluff Junior College had its earliest beginnings in 1926 as a one-year post graduate school supervised by the high school principal. In 1929 it was first organized as a two-year school of somewhat doubtful accreditation. After

> the Nebraska Junior College law of 1931 was passed, the Scottsbluff Junior College was reorganized to conform with the provisions of the law.

Collectively, the cities of McCook, Norfolk and Scottsbluff worked actively to secure enabling legislation (Saylor, 1949). In January 1927, state Representative Carson Russell (McCook attorney), Rep. Barbour (a Scottsbluff rancher), Rep. Yensen (a Gering farmer), and Rep. Hansen (a North Platte rancher) introduced a bill "to provide for the establishment and maintenance of junior colleges in school districts of the state having a population of more than 5,000..." (Nebraska, 1927). The bill was indefinitely postponed on a vote of 51 to 37. An examination of the roll call on this vote indicated that the representatives of McCook, Norfolk and Scottsbluff were supported by representatives from other towns and counties with similar interests and ambitions: Alliance, Broken Bow, Nelson, Pierce, Fairbury and Wathill. Some representatives from Omaha also favored the bill; since 1908 that metropolis had supported its own municipal institution of higher education, the University of Omaha. From the private sector only Calvin French, president of Hastings College, had voiced support for the junior college ("Junior College is Natural", 1925). The majority of those voting to postpone the bill were representatives from communities and counties in which the state university, the four state normal schools and the private colleges were located.

In 1929 another junior college bill was introduced into the legislature; it was supported by the state superintendent of public instruction, legislators, educators and citizens from McCook, Scottsbluff and Norfolk. By 1929 agricultural crop prices had declined and the agricultural economy headed for the depression that was soon to grip the entire nation. Opponents of the junior college legislation claimed that the local tax base of many communities was insufficient to support the colleges, and that the creation of junior colleges

would ultimately compete for the limited resources devoted to the state normal schools and the state university (Saylor, 1949). Speaking against the bill were the representatives from Lancaster county (Lincoln) and the presidents of three private colleges: Midland College in Fremont, Grand Island College, and Nebraska Central College in Central City (Hughes, 1942, p. 17). Competition for resources and students was clearly on the minds of legislators as they again considered enacting a junior college bill.

With the junior colleges at McCook and Norfolk established and the petition for recognition of yet a third college at Scottsbluff before them, the Nebraska Board of Regents sought to halt the junior college movement. They instructed Extension Director Reed to notify the junior college authorities that work would be recognized for one year only and that such relations would not be continued (University of Nebraska, 1926-1929, pp.11-12). Furthermore, the Board of Regents held Dean Sealock and Director Reed's description of the 1929 proposed junior college bill (S.F. 102) and instructed the president of the board and the chancellor of the University to lobby informally against the bill (University of Nebraska, 1926-1929, p. 275). The failure of the Nebraska legislature to pass a junior college bill in 1927 and 1929 was a direct result of factionalization and interest group lobbying among public and private higher education sectors. The 1927 bill was postponed indefinitely through the leadership of Rep. Rolla Van Kirk, attorney from Lincoln. The 1929 bill also was postponed indefinitely, this time by a narrow margin.

At the time of the founding of the first Nebraska junior college, the town of McCook was a prosperous, growing regional trade center. The economic climate was oriented toward expansion and development. The population of the town was increasing rapidly. The construction and paving of major north-south and east-west transcontinental highways spurred the growth outlook for McCook. The

business and civic leaders saw improved educational, cultural and transportation opportunities as positive contributions to the town's development. There was a healthy spirit of competition between McCook, Norfolk, Scottsbluff as these communities actively promoted the junior college idea. This watchful rivalry between the medium sized communities of Nebraska helped to build an interest group and power base for the passage of junior college enabling legislation in 1931.

The fact that colleges were contemplated and founded prior to the enabling legislation was due to the advocates and successful models of junior colleges in other states. In the 1920's Progressive era home rule laws and initiative, referendum and recall provisions were clearly in place in most states; the referendum was used in the Nebraska communities to develop and marshall political support for the junior college idea. Local newspaper publicity and the public campaigns of chambers of commerce used progressive political mechanisms to build and effect their political goals. Also supportive of college founding were the accreditation standards set for junior colleges by the North Central Association and the initial benign acceptance of McCook Junior College by the Nebraska Board of Regents, and the helpful support of the Dean of the Teachers College and the Director of the Extension Division. The tone of this rivalry between towns, the later resistance to junior colleges evidence by legislators from counties with private or public colleges, and the change from acceptance to resistance by the Board of Regents illustrated the interest groups politics of the 1920's.

Discussion, Analysis and Conclusions

In 1893 Grover Cleveland was elected U.S. president for a second time. Cleveland was a liberal's liberal. He abhorred corruption and was enthusiastic

about local rule, governmental efficiency and laissez-faire capitalism. The predisposition to local rule and economy in governmental agencies was favorable to the development of such institutions as municipal junior colleges. However, Cleveland also favored a gold standard and objected to the use of government to improve the commonweal. For example, in 1887 Congress appropriated $10,000 to aid drought sufferers in buying new grain seed. Cleveland vetoed the item, declaring that "though the people support the Government, the Government should not support the people" (as quoted in Goldman, 1956, p. 33). Traditional liberalism of the day argued against the use of public funds or authority to intercede directly for the social betterment of citizens. At a time when the country's economy was growing and when secondary education was expanding, the amount of money available through debt instruments, such as school bonds, was limited by monetary policies. The early 1890's were marked by economic recession and, like the early 1980's, they were not a time favorable to school expansion and the development of junior colleges. The case study of Saginaw, Michigan, illustrated the general social and economic conditions of the early 1890's.

Populism was a revolt against the Cleveland form of liberalism. Populists urged direct democracy; they sponsored the initiative, giving voters the power to legislate over the heads of their representatives and the referendum, providing voters with a veto over the actions of the legislature. Local initiatives served as the informal basis for establishing the support for junior colleges in Nebraska; the mechanisms of the populists and progressives were in place, and local business and civic leaders were versed in their use. Not so was the case of Springfield; here, the conflict between school board, mayor and city council hampered support for the public school system. While the educational reforms of the day supported the advent of Springfield Junior College, the development of the college was inhibited by the absence of the

political reforms associated with the period. In Saginaw, the economic constraints of recession augered against the upward extension of the schools. In the Nebraska cases, the first junior colleges could be viewed as another form of direct democracy in the populist tradition, taking the wishes of local constituents over the heads of the legislature to set by example the organization and interrelationship of public higher education.

During the 1890's education was individualistic. Horatio Alger still provided a paragon; education did not need to be formal - one could still be self-educated. But more importantly, the key to education was seen to be in the will and discipline of the individual. Social institutions, such as schools and university extension societies could only provide the opportunity. Success was in the hands of the individual. For municipal junior colleges to grow, there needed to be a commensurate public sentiment that civic government had such a responsibility to its citizens.

From the nineteenth century perspective, one did not create opportunity through municipal agencies. The old liberalism of Cleveland relied upon the individual to create the opportunities, no matter how difficult the obstacles. Each of the three communities examined here evidenced educational reform commensurate with their era; together they reflected a continuum of movement away from mental discipline toward developmental psychology as a basis for the organization of educational institutions. In Saginaw, there was the university extension society for self-improvement. Compulsory secondary education was just being debated in the legislature, and so the full and steady stream of high school graduates that fueled the growth of community and junior college of later periods was absent. In Springfield, junior high school was seen as a possible exit point into the work force, and secondary education was elective. The tradition of quality private higher education coupled with the drain of men from

schools caused by World War I inhibited enrollment growth at the Junior college. Nevertheless, the Springfield case evidenced the interrelationship of the mental measurement movement, the application of scientific management techniques to educational administration and the application of progressive and developmental philosophies of education. In these ways, Springfield was reflective of Progressive era innovations in educational reform. In a similar manner, the arguments for the establishment of junior colleges in McCook, Norfolk and Scottsbluff reflected the politics of the 1920's. Recall the premise that the state university was too far from the home of students in these three towns, thereby discouraging college-going. How far that perspective is from Cleveland liberalism! The notion that junior colleges were assets in the competition between communities for resources, commerce and development mirrors May's (1956) description of special interest group politics in the 1920's. Politically and educationally, the communities and colleges examined exemplified the social phenomena of their era.

In each of the cases examined, the local school superintendent was an active, influential educational leader. Close working relationships were discovered between the public schools of Saginaw, Springfield and McCook and nearby universities. Saginaw evidenced close connection with both the University of Michigan, the University of Chicago and Clark University. Springfield evidenced ties with Columbia, Harvard, Dartmouth and Wesleyan. McCook had contacts with the University of Nebraska. The Saginaw paper did report Harper's plan to establish affiliate schools and colleges, but did not describe or intimate the notion of a public junior college. In Springfield, some reference was made to the growth of junior colleges in California, but no reference was made to Alexis Lange or David Starr Jordan ("California's Junior Colleges, 1917). In McCook, successful junior colleges were profiled in Iowa and

Michigan, and the state superintendents of public instruction in Colorado and California were consulted. However, in none of the cases reviewed was direct reference made to William Rainey Harper, Henry Tappan, David Starr Jordan or any other "great man" identified in previous literature describing the development of community colleges.

As time progress, there were more positive examples of junior colleges to point to as models of college founding. Each of the cases examined here was chosen because they were the first public junior college in their respective states. Nevertheless, Springfield had local models of two-year colleges for two decades prior the founding of SJC. McCook was able to consult with and point to junior colleges in adjacent states as examples. Modeling seemed to follow contacts within the educational community, within the accrediting association and through the activities of the U.S. Bureau of Education.

In this investigation, Saginaw Junior College, reported in previous community college literature, was found not to exist -- or at least not to be founded within two years of its alleged date of establishment. In the course of investigation of Springfield Junior College, two earlier two-year colleges were identified that had not been reported in the community college literature. These instances suggest that there may be a paucity of reliable, substantiated information on early junior colleges and the circumstances in which they were established. Apparently, educators writing in this field may need to better distinguish between primary and secondary sources of information and may need to use multiple sources of evidence to substantiate claims of educators to the existence, purpose and direction of collegiate institutions.

This study included by three cases, each from an historically distinct time period. It was not the purpose of this investigation to provide a basis for generalization about the development of all junior colleges, or even all first

junior colleges. Rather, it was to explore the reciprocal relatinship of college founding and factors in the external environment. In the cases examined the economy, the civic and business support for public education, the political environment and its relations with the schools all influenced the nature of college founding. College founding in these cases was related to other aspects of educational reform. It was affected by -- and sometimes dependent upon -- the success of political, economic and social reforms. The susceptibility of higher education to the social phenomena in the external environment was affirmed.

Wagoner (1985) has chided those supporters of community and junior colleges concept as being less concerned with historical understanding and analysis, and more concerned with "the identification of antecedents that hold promise of conferring the legitimacy of age on the two-year college" (p. 4). He cautioned (p. 5):

> ...there is also the danger that exaggerating linkages and of appropriating ideals and rhetoric concerning the junior/community college can obscure its real beginnings and deflect attention from a critical appraisal of its prevading ideology, changing missions, and continuing search for identity and integrity.

The three cases presented in this study illustrate the integral relationship between the college and sectors of its community. The examination of social behavior within an historical context can provide an important basis for understanding educational change and reform.

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